
CITIZENSHIP FOR ADOPTEES PROJECT: IMPLEMENTATION IN WASHINGTON STATE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	4
PART 1: INTERCOUNTRY ADOPTION AND ADOPTEE CITIZENSHIP	5
INTERCOUNTRY ADOPTION IN THE UNITED STATES.....	5
THE CHILD CITIZENSHIP ACT OF 2000	7
THE ISSUE: ADOPTEES REMAIN WITHOUT CITIZENSHIP	9
PART 2: CITIZENSHIP FOR ADOPTEES PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION ANALYSIS	12
CORE PROGRAM ANALYSIS	13
POLICY FIELD AUDIT	16
ORGANIZATION PROGRAM INTEGRATION AUDIT	23
FRONTLINE INTERACTIONS AUDIT.....	27
TARGET EXPERIENCES ANALYSIS	29
PART 3: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION	35
INDICATORS OF IMPLEMENTATION EFFECTIVENESS	35
ACTIVATING AUTHORITY AND USING CULTURE	36
2019 IMPLEMENTATION PLAN	38
CONCLUSION	40
REFERENCES	41
FOOTNOTES	44
FIGURES.....	45

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The United States has been a receiving country of intercountry adoptees since the end of World War II, with the trend increasing dramatically during the aftermath of the Korean War. Since that time, over 500,000 children born overseas have been adopted by American parents, with the promise of being placed in a safe, loving, and permanent home. Unfortunately, when intercountry adoption began, citizenship was not automatically granted to the adopted children of American citizen parents. Adoptive parents needed to ensure the adoption was final, and then complete the naturalization process on behalf of their child. For various reasons, some parents either did not know or did not choose to complete the process, which left tens of thousands intercountry adoptees without U.S. citizenship.

The Child Citizenship Act of 2000 granted automatic and retroactive citizenship to some, but not all intercountry adoptees. This excluded an estimated 25,000-49,000 adoptees nationally, with approximately 2,000 adoptees residing in Washington State. As a result, adoptees are denied the equal rights and protections promised through their adoption by U.S. citizen parents, such as the right to vote, obtain a passport, go to school, or legally work. Adoptees without citizenship live in fear, and some are at risk for deportation back to a country where they don't have the language or cultural skills needed to survive.

There have been multiple attempts to close this loophole, with advocacy from adoptees, adoptive parents, adoption agencies, and community members. This report describes the most recent efforts made in Washington State through the formation of the Citizenship for Adoptees Project, a committee between the Korean American Coalition of Washington and the Asian Adult Adoptees of Washington. An implementation analysis was performed, to help address the questions that have arisen during the startup phase of the program and provide recommendations for successful implementation in 2019.

PART 1: INTERCOUNTRY ADOPTION AND ADOPTEE CITIZENSHIP

Intercountry adoption sits at the intersection of immigration and family law, “two completely different systems run by two completely different governments” (Gossett, 2017). Gaps between the two systems have left some adoptees with U.S. citizenship and some adoptees without. This section will provide historical context of intercountry adoption in the United States, changes made under the Adoptee Citizenship Act of 2000, and the outstanding issue of adoptees without citizenship.

INTERCOUNTRY ADOPTION IN THE UNITED STATES

While the concept of adoption is “ancient” and “universal”, occurring throughout history with children being raised amongst extended family or community members, the “legal adoption by strangers” is a much more recent phenomenon, with modern adoption practices “invented” by Americans (Stark, 2018). Intercountry adoption (ICA) is currently defined by the U.S. Department of State as “the process by which you adopt a child from a country other than your own through permanent legal means and then bring that child to your country of residence to live with you permanently” (“Intercountry Adoption,” n.d.). In the United States, adoption results in the severance of legal, physical, and emotional ties to one’s birth family alongside the creation of a new family, with adoptive parents taking on the legal, physical, and emotional responsibilities for the child (O. M. Kim, Kim, & Tarnowski, 2017).

While America’s modern adoption history dates back to domestic adoption laws and practices in the 1850’s (Papke, 1999), it wasn’t until the end of World War II that the practice of ICA began. Initially a humanitarian response to children orphaned by the war, intercountry adoptions began with children from various European countries sent to the United States. This was permissible through the 1948 Displaced Persons Act (DPA) which included provisions for orphans, introduced by Senator

Irving Ives (R-N.Y.) who stated “this is not an immigration bill but an expression of the great heart of the United States which always went out to children” (R. Winslow, 2012).

This was further expanded upon in 1953, through the passage of the Refugee Relief Act (RRA) which offered 4,000 non-quota visas for orphans from any country of origin, including Asia (R. Winslow, 2012). This was in contrast to the national origins quotas, set by the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act (The McCarran-Walter Act) which lifted the restriction on Asian immigration but only allotted 100 visas per country per year (“The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (The McCarran-Walter Act),” n.d.). This legislation (and the designation of orphans as refugees) opened the door for large-scale adoption programs in the aftermath of the Korean War (R. Winslow, 2012). At the same time, the U.S. baby boom was in full force, with many American parents facing social pressure to have children. As a result, the RRA was able to fulfill a “supply and demand crisis” that estimated the ratio of prospective adoptive parents to available children as 10:1 (R. Winslow, 2012).

ICA was also framed in the Cold War politics and rhetoric of the 1950’s, with American parents “extending their helping hand to orphans” as a way of “promoting international understanding and peace”. They became humanitarian heroes while children became human peace offerings, helping the U.S. government advance its foreign policy agenda and improve its international reputation. Meanwhile, the Subcommittee on Immigration stated that “international orphans ‘made the best possible immigrants from the standpoint of their youth, flexibility, and lack of ties to any other cultures’” assimilating easily and posing no political threat (R. R. Winslow, 2017).

However, it was Harry and Bertha Holt, a couple from Oregon, who capitalized on the RRA and laid the foundation for what would become today’s industrialized system of intercountry adoption through “proxy adoptions” (which allowed adoptions to occur without parents traveling to Korea) and “baby lifts” which brought large groups of children on chartered flights from Korea to the United States (Gossett, 2017). In 1956, the Holt’s started the “Holt Adoption Program” with the placement

of 211 Korean orphans, and subsequently began lobbying the U.S. government for revisions to immigration law. His lobbying was successful; “the United States revised its laws in 1961 to allow international adoptions into the United States to continue permanently, and not merely as a relief effort.” (Gossett, 2017). The Holt Adoption Program was largely shaped by the Holt’s evangelical Christian faith, which focused on child-saving and family creation. Their adoption application required more information on prospective parents’ religious faith than any other factor (such as income or a home study) (R. R. Winslow, 2017).

Throughout ICA’s history, numerous cultural, political, and legal factors play an important role in whether a child is able to leave one country and enter another for the purpose of adoption, bound by the laws employed by both governments to control emigration and immigration (Weil, 1984). Weil (1984) also argued that intercountry adoption is an “unusual migratory process”, as the decision to migrate is usually made by those moving. In this case, those who are making the decision are the adoptive parents and adoption agencies, yet they are not the ones moving. Instead, it is the adoptive child, whose lack of self-determination or agency could imply that intercountry adoption is a type of forced migration. This theme has also surfaced among some adult adoptees, who refer to intercountry adoption as legalized human trafficking, kidnapping, or an import/export business (Myung Ja, Moon Ja, & Kim, 2015).

As a result of the social, legal, and political events and policies that created the intercountry adoption system, an estimated 512,627 children born abroad were adopted by American parents between 1945 and 2016 (Martin-Montgomery et al., 2018). Until 1995, South Korea was the leading sending country of adoptees to the United States, sending more than 100,000 (Gossett, 2017).

THE CHILD CITIZENSHIP ACT OF 2000

Despite the passage of laws that enabled ICA as a practice, the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution only guaranteed citizenship to “persons born or naturalized in the United States”, meaning that adoptees did not automatically acquire citizenship through their adoptive parents (Gossett, 2017). This required adoptive parents to complete two steps – first, they had to follow state law to ensure the adoption was complete and final. Second, they needed to apply for U.S. citizenship for their child and complete the naturalization process. Unfortunately, most Americans and many adoptive parents assumed that their children would acquire U.S. citizenship automatically, and some parents did not complete one or both steps in the process. In addition, adoption agencies did not consistently follow up with adoptive parents to ensure the adoption was final and citizenship was secured.

While ICA continued to grow as a practice, some adoptees began to learn they did not have U.S. citizenship due to the failure of their adoptive parents to complete the naturalization process. Some learned when they applied for a passport, others when trying to register to vote. Unfortunately, some adoptees learned of their status when they received an order of deportation from immigration officials (Long, 2017). Following the high-profile case of Joao Herbert, who was deported to Brazil and murdered four years later, Representative William Delahunt (D-MA) who is an adoptive father, introduced a bill that would grant automatic citizenship to adoptees through the legal adoption.

Even though Joao had been deported due to a non-violent drug conviction, Rep. Delahunt argued, “Whatever they did, they should be treated like any other American kid. They are our children, and we are responsible for them.” (Gossett, 2017). In the Senate, Senate Assistant Majority Leader Don Nickels (R-OK) began similar advocacy, stating to his colleagues “Lawmakers and the public need to understand that these adoptees were adopted by American citizens, were brought to this country legally, [and] were raised in American society.” The final proposed legislation was

unanimously supported by Congress and signed by former President Clinton in October 2000, amending the Immigration and Nationality Act. (Gossett, 2017)

What became known as the “Child Citizenship Act of 2000” was enacted on February 27, 2001. This granted automatic U.S. citizenship to adoptees upon the finalization of their adoption, for all future adoptions and retroactively for all adoptees who were under the age of 18 and had not previously been naturalized. An estimated 75,000 adoptees “became citizens overnight” as a result of this amendment (Gossett, 2017). Unfortunately, this excluded adoptees who were already 18, adoptees who did not have legal permanent residence status (i.e. they entered on a non-immigrant visa), and adoptees whose adoptions were not finalized (i.e. they entered on an IR4 or IH4 visa, which required a final or re-adoption process in the United States after arrival). The age exclusion was the result of a political compromise, in which some lawmakers did not want to include adoptees over the age of 18 who had committed crimes (Gossett, 2017).

THE ISSUE: ADOPTEES REMAIN WITHOUT CITIZENSHIP

Despite the compromise that excluded some adoptees from acquiring automatic, retroactive citizenship, there was optimism that it would be quickly amended. However, in the aftermath of 9/11 this became significantly more difficult, and in the eighteen years following the Child Citizenship Act, there have not been any amendments. According to a 2018 study by the Adoptee Rights Campaign (ARC), an estimated 25,000-49,000 adult intercountry adoptees remain without U.S. citizenship and an estimated 7,000-14,000 additional adoptees are at risk for entering adulthood without citizenship (Martin-Montgomery et al., 2018).

Multiple attempts have been made to correct the issue. In 2013, the House of Representatives passed the 2013 Citizenship for Lawful Adoptees Amendment, which would have removed the exclusion of adoptees who were already 18 when the Child Citizenship Act was enacted. It was

attached to an immigration reform bill. The sponsor of the bill, Senator Mary L. Landrieu (D-LA) who is an adoptive parent herself, stated “Some adopted children, through no fault of their own, endure a precarious legal status, which can result in the horror of being deported to a country they don’t remember at all, where they don’t have any ties or even speak the language.” (Gossett, 2017). While it passed in the Senate, it did not gain traction in the House.

Advocates rallied again in 2015, after another high-profile case of an adoptee facing deportation surfaced and made it into major news outlets. Petitions by organizations including 18MillionRising circulated online and through social media, with the hashtag #keepushome (“#KeepUsHome Campaign Launched to Protect Adult Adoptees From Deportation – Reappropriate,” 2015). As one of the largest intercountry adoptee communities in the United States (and highly impacted due to the age exclusion from the Child Citizenship Act of 2000), the Korean adoptee community mobilized, lobbying for legislation that would finally close the gap. In November 2015, Senator Amy Klobuchar (D-MN) introduced the Adoptee Citizenship Act of 2015 that would grant automatic and retroactive citizenship to all adoptees who were adopted before the age of 18 by an American citizen parent (Klobuchar, 2015). In addition, it would “create a clear pathway for adoptees who have been deported for minor crimes and have served their sentence to come back to the U.S.” (Gossett, 2017).

Representative Adam Smith (D-WA) and Representative Trent Franks (D-AZ) introduced a House companion bill the following June 2016 (Smith, 2016). In his press release, Rep. Franks emphasized that “adopted individuals should not be treated as second class citizens just because they happened to be the wrong age when the Child Citizenship Act of 2000 was passed.” (Gossett, 2017). Unfortunately, in an increasingly anti-immigrant political climate, the Adoptee Citizenship Acts of 2015/2016 did not pass. The primary reason why the bill faced opposition in Congress was the

inclusion of adoptees who had been deported. The Korean adoptee was issued final deportation orders and was deported back to Korea in November 2016.

In 2017, the political climate worsened, and despite ARC securing Senator Roy Blunt (R-MO) as the new lead Republican co-sponsor to re-introduce legislation, it took almost a year of discussions and negotiations for the Adoptee Citizenship Act of 2018 to get introduced in both the House and the Senate (“In the News: The Adoptee Citizenship Act,” 2018). The end result was a compromise that provided citizenship for more adoptees than the original proposal from the legislators, but still excluded some. The proposed language would provide automatic and retroactive citizenship to adoptees who were adopted before the age of 18, were in the legal custody of a citizen parent pursuant to a lawful admission before the age of 18 (allowing any visa type) and had not acquired U.S. citizenship prior to enactment. However, it excluded adoptees who were deported and convicted of a violent crime (Blunt, 2018; Smith, 2018). Despite the compromise, the bill stalled in the Judiciary Committee and has not passed as of December 2018.

PART 2: CITIZENSHIP FOR ADOPTEES PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION ANALYSIS

Adoptees without citizenship is a complex policy issue at the crossroads of adoption and immigration policy, with actors across levels of government, sectors, and geographies. Similar to the separate policies surrounding adoption or immigration, there are numerous legal, political, social, and cultural influences. Despite the previous efforts to correct this issue, nearly 20 years have passed since the enactment of the Child Citizenship Act with no solution in place. Building on the increased awareness following the deportation of the Korean adoptee in 2016 and the tragic suicide of another deported Korean adoptee in 2017 (Choe, 2017), numerous nonprofit and community organizations started or continued their advocacy efforts throughout 2018.

In Washington State, the Korean American Coalition – Washington (KAC-WA) and Asian Adult Adoptees of Washington (AAAW) formed a joint committee in June 2018 following the Korean American Grassroots Conference (KAGC) regional seminar, which highlighted adoptee citizenship as a policy priority. Under the name “Citizenship for Adoptees Project” (CAP), the committee defined their objective as “Keeping Intercountry Adoptees Home.” Like many other new initiatives, numerous questions about the strategy, goals, objectives, and implementation were discussed by the team members. What are we trying to solve? How should this issue be framed? Who are the stakeholders, and who holds the most power? Who else is working on this, and how should we collaborate? What can we do locally vs. what is being done nationally? How are we going to get this done?

To help address these questions and create an implementation plan for 2019, an implementation analysis was performed using the tools provided in *Effective Implementation in Practice: Integrating Public Policy and Management* (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015). The authors recommend an analytical approach to unpack implementation systems, built around the concept of “strategic action fields”. Each level within an implementation system (policy field, organization, and front lines) can be thought of as a strategic action field, or unique setting with its own social structures and processes.

This “multilevel framework for implementation analysis helps one to describe the context. Theories of social process, like strategic action fields, allow one to analytically explain what is occurring, and see patterns and underlying mechanisms that transcend the particular situation.” (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015, p. 28).

The methodologies used to perform the analysis include: observations¹ (unstructured, participant), one on one conversations with community members and leaders, review of academic literature, policy scan, website and social media review, and popular media scan (blogs, documentaries, news articles).

CORE PROGRAM ANALYSIS

“Core programs” are the set of activities, operational elements, work flow, and resources applied to carry out a program and create change in a target population; they are shaped by the implementation process through three phases: establishing viable options, identifying the logic of change, and coordinating activities (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015).

Establishing Viable Options: The problem being addressed is the lack of U.S. citizenship for some intercountry adoptees due to exclusions in the Child Citizenship Act of 2000. The core program, Citizenship for Adoptees project (CAP), supports amendments to the law so that all intercountry adoptees are granted automatic and retroactive U.S. citizenship despite the year of their adoption or the visa they entered on. It also seeks to raise awareness of the issue with all who may be impacted, have an interest, or have the power to fix it. The final objective is to provide resources to adoptees and adoptive families to ensure they are informed of the issue, know their rights, and have access to help and resources.

The range of activities considered appropriate to address this problem include raising awareness with community members and elected officials, creating awareness campaign materials and

messaging, speaking at events and conferences (formally and informally through networking), and creating digital platforms and content (for example, website, social media, infographics). Also in consideration are adoptee/adoptive family events to share information, bring together legal resources and adoption agencies for file review, and provide additional “know your rights” resources.

Identifying the Logic of Change: This program will bring about change to the target population through legislation, awareness, and access to resources. There are some operating assumptions about the behavior of the target group, including: not all adoptees and adoptive families are aware of this issue, some adoptees currently do not have a viable path to citizenship, some adoptees or adoptive families do not recognize adoptees as immigrants, some adoptees do not have their adoption paperwork in their possession, some adoptive parents did not keep all of the adoption paperwork, some adoptive parents were not aware or chose not to complete the citizenship process for their adopted child, some parents did not know they needed to re-adopt their child in the United States in order to finalize the adoption and secure citizenship, and some adoptees were unaware of the issue and had been living their lives as citizens – and did not find out their status until an interaction with a federal agency.

There are also assumptions made about the efficacy of the activities and the workers implementing the activities, including: raising awareness will lead to increased advocacy by different stakeholders and interest groups, there will be high turnout at events (especially events targeted at adoptees and adoptive families), CAP committee members will have access and ability to attend and participate at all relevant conferences, and there are shared beliefs and values (in particular around issues of adoption and immigration) amongst organizations and frontline workers. The core program seeks to change behavior through awareness and advocacy, and process people through access to services and resources.

Coordinating Activities: Activities need to be coordinated across the individuals and organizations who are working on this issue. Prior to legislative action days, CAP should send out awareness campaign materials to its target groups. Committee members should attend or receive debriefs on legislative action days from national and state organizations that are advocating for adoptee citizenship. CAP committee members should also present at or attend convenings with national organizations, representing CAP and/or KAC-WA and AAAW. Examples include: KAC national presidents' retreat, KAC national convention, Korean American Grassroots Conference (KAGC) leaders, regional, and national conferences, Korean American Adoptee Adoptive Family Network (KAAN) annual conference, and International Korean Adoptee Association (IKAA) gathering. CAP should partner with local organizations and resources to plan and execute adoptee events (such as adoption agencies, attorneys), collaborate with KAC-WA and AAAW for communication plans (for example, newsletters or social media posts), and partner with Asian Counseling and Referral Service (ACRS) or Asia Pacific Cultural Center (APCC) to get on the Asia Pacific Islander Coalition (APIC) agenda.

KAC-WA and AAAW resources should be leveraged when possible and appropriate, and work within KAC-WA and AAAW governance for approvals and funding opportunities. Conferences and conventions will utilize their infrastructure but will require new or modified content. However, some content can leverage existing resources from within the broader policy field, such as the “Know Your Rights” flyers, advocacy scripts and templates, and official information published by U.S. government agencies regarding adoption and immigration policies.

The work flow will be structured for coordination and communication amongst participants by reviewing existing relationships and connections between CAP committee members and other organizations to determine points of contact and communication cadence, and by grouping activities and assigning committee leads (taking into account these relationships when possible). Use of digital

communication and collaboration tools (for example, Slack, Trello, Google Drive, etc.) will also be critical to ensure all participants have access to information.

POLICY FIELD AUDIT

“Policy fields are bounded networks among organizations carrying out a substantive policy or program in a particular place.” (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015, p. 103). The Citizenship for Adoptees Project (CAP) is based in the Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue metropolitan area of Washington State, however there are numerous international, national, state, and local institutions who are also involved in implementing this program or have an interest in adoptees without citizenship, shown in the sections below.

The prevalence of Korean American and Asian American Pacific Islander organizations does not imply that the adoptee citizenship issue is limited to adoptees from Korea or Asia Pacific; however, it does indicate the higher levels of awareness, engagement, and support from these organizations and including the Korean government. It is also worth noting that Korean adoptees, due to the history, size, and scale of intercountry adoption are estimated to be the most impacted or at risk of citizenship failure.

Which organizations have an interest in this policy or program? There are numerous organizations who have an interest in this issue, and they can provide valuable resources to CAP based on their mission, objectives, and services. Other organizations may not be as directly involved, however they should not be overlooked, as they may be able to offer insight, resources, or additional networking opportunities. The following table summarizes the key organizations by sector, level, and role.

Table 1: Policy Field Audit

Type	International/National	State/Local
Public Agencies	<u>Global/International:</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> WA Commission on Asian Pacific American Affairs (CAPAA) is a state

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Hague Convention on the Protection of Children and Cooperation with Respect of Intercountry Adoption is an international agreement to safeguard intercountry adoptions • Korea Adoption Services (KAS) is an agency within the Ministry of Health and Welfare, they provide services and financial support to Korean adoptees • Overseas Koreans Foundation (OKF) within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs provides support and programming for Koreans overseas <p><u>National:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • U.S. Department of State – Office of Children’s Affairs is the U.S. Central Authority for the Hague Convention • U.S. Department of Homeland Security – U.S. Citizenship & Immigration Services oversees all immigration, naturalization and citizenship processes • Congressional Coalition on Adoption Caucus (CCA) is a bipartisan bicameral caucus in Congress, engaging with Members of Congress on adoption policy and programs; have led Congress in the passage of adoption related legislation 	<p>agency appointed by the governor to ensure APA community voices are heard in state government</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seattle Office of Immigrant and Refugee Affairs (OIRA) was established to strengthen the relationship between the City of Seattle government and immigrant and refugee communities
Private Philanthropies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • World Hug Foundation is the fiscal sponsor of the Adoptee Rights Campaign 	
Nonprofit Service Providers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adoptee Rights Campaign (ARC) is an organization led by adoptees who have experienced citizenship failure; they educate and advocate for U.S. citizenship rights and provide services for impacted adoptees • National Korean American Service and Education Consortium (NAKASEC) is a grassroots organization who promotes the full participation of Korean and Asian Americans within the larger society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizenship for Adoptees Project (CAP) is a joint committee formed between the Korean American Coalition -WA (KAC-WA) and Asian Adult Adoptees of WA (AAAW) • KAC-WA is a nonprofit community organization whose mission is to empower the Korean American community and enhance its profile and influence • AAAW is a resource that provides mentoring, fellowship, and educational opportunities for Asian American and Pacific Islander adoptees and their community • Asian Counseling & Referral Service (ACRS) promotes social justice and the well-being and empowerment of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders and other underserved communities by developing, providing, and advocating for innovative, effective, and efficient community-based services • Asia Pacific Cultural Center (APCC) is a community center serving as a cultural

		<p>crossroads between local and international communities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Northwest Immigrant Rights Project (NWIRP) promotes justice by defending and advancing the rights of immigrants through direct legal services, systemic advocacy, and community education
Intermediary Organizations or Purveyors	<p><u>Global/International:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> International Korean Adoptee Association (IKAA) an international network of Korean adoptee associations serving the global adoption community through the sharing of resources and information between adoptees, reaching 15,000+ members through 13 member associations Overseas Koreans Foundation (OKF) supports Korean American community events and sponsors overseas Koreans for trips and conferences in Korea Korea Adoption Services (KAS) supports Korean adoptee events and provides resources to Korean adoptees abroad and in Korea Global Overseas Adoptees' Link (GOA'L), an adoptee-led NGO based in Korea, serves the Korean adoptee community by providing resources, services, and networking InterCountry Adoptee Voices (ICAV) is a support network created by and for intercountry adoptees around the world, providing a platform for adoptees to connect in, share, educate, and advocate the wider public for the issues adoptees face-political, social and emotional <p><u>National:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adoptee Rights Campaign (ARC) works with adoptees, adoptive parents, legal associations, adoption coalitions, human rights organizations, and allied affiliates; they have member networks in the following states: AZ, CA, MA, NV, NJ, NY, PA, TX, WA, DC, VA Korean American Grassroots Conference (KAGC) is a national network of Korean American voters; in 2018 the national conference in Washington D.C. brought together 600 attendees from 31 states to discuss policy priorities and participate in a day of action to engage lawmakers Korean American Adoptee Adoptive Family Network (KAAN) is a national organization dedicated to connecting and serving the adoption community; they host an annual conference to provide 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consulate General of the Republic of Korea in Seattle frequently convenes the Korean American community organizations including KAC-WA, AAAW, and many others for community events and gatherings; they also provide a link to OKF and KAS programming and support Korean American Grassroots Conference (KAGC) is a national network of Korean American voters; in 2018 they sponsored regional seminars in 7 cities to help local community partners develop and implement civic engagement programs and help coordinate the local Korean American community's advocacy efforts on the national level

	<p>meaningful resources and information to the community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consulate General of the Republic of Korea (various offices) has engaged with local Korean American and Korean American adoptee organizations across the United States, raising awareness on the adoptee citizenship issue 	
Research & Evaluation Organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adoptee Rights Campaign (ARC) published a report in March 2018 which provided a comprehensive review of the available national statistics on intercountry adoption at the national, state, D.C., U.S. territories, and armed forces families levels • U.S. Department of State publishes annual adoption statistics (since 1999) • U.S. Citizenship & Immigration Services publishes annual yearbook of immigration statistics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consulate General of the Republic of Korea in Seattle tracks data and statistics on all Koreans who enter the jurisdiction for immigration or temporary purposes
Nonprofit Membership & Advocacy Organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Asian Pacific American Bar Association (NAPABA) is the national association of legal professionals and local Asian Pacific American bar associations; they promote justice, equity, and opportunity for Asian Pacific Americans, and have provided legal guidance to ARC on the adoptee citizenship legislation. They have local chapters, and an Asian American Affinity Network. • Coalition of Bar Associations of Color (CBAC) advocates on issues of mutual interest to the various constituents represented by its four bar associations: the Hispanic National Bar Association (HNBA), National Asian Pacific American Bar Association (NAPABA), National Bar Association (NBA), and National Native American Bar Association (NNABA) • Asian Americans Advancing Justice (AAJC) serves as a voice for the Asian American community, fighting for civil rights through education, litigation, and public policy advocacy • National Council for Adoption (NCAF) seeks to meet the needs of children, birth parents, adopted individuals, adoptive families, and all those touched by adoption through global advocacy, education, research, legislative action, and collaboration • Congressional Coalition on Adoption Institute (CCAI) advocate for child welfare through adoption and provide the Congressional Coalition on Adoption 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asian Pacific Islander Coalition (APIC) statewide network of community organizations dedicated to promoting equitable access to culturally competent and linguistically accessible health and human services, economic development for small businesses, civil and human rights, equal access to education and other concerns of Asian Pacific Americans, including immigrants, refugees, and citizens in Washington State. • American Civil Liberties Union WA (ACLU-WA) is the state affiliate of ACLU, working to ensure justice, freedom and equality are realities for all people in Washington state, with particular attention to the rights of people and groups who have historically been disenfranchised • Korean American Bar Association (KABA) serves the Korean, Korean American, and legal communities as a resource and a proponent of the interests, causes and issues important to the community; they provide a pro bono legal clinic

	Caucus with information and resources related to adoption and adoption policy	
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Which organizations have power to make change related to it? Only Congress has the power to completely fix this issue through legislation which would grant citizenship to all adoptees previously excluded by the Child Citizenship Act of 2000, or by sponsoring a private bill for a particular individual or individuals. However, interested parties can advocate for change through organizing, raising awareness, and lobbying. In this regard, the interests of adoptive parents and adoption agencies have traditionally held more power compared with adoptees and even governments. Others may provide services that will help the target group (adoptees unaware of the issue and adoptees without citizenship), such as consolidated information portals, information sessions, legal assistance or referrals, and emotional well-being and support resources. Influence from outside the United States could also occur, such as countries who send children to the United States for adoption, overseas agencies responsible for providing services for returning or deported adoptees, international advocacy groups, international human rights watchdogs, and the Hague Convention.

Where does administrative authority lie? Because CAP is an effort between two non-profit organizations, KAC-WA and AAWW, administrative authority lies with their respective governing boards. All actions, decisions, and expenditures in the name of KAC-WA or AAWW must be presented and approved in order for the CAP committee to move forward. In addition, the Adoptee Rights Campaign (ARC) has become a leading adoptee-led national organization coordinating legislative efforts with U.S. Congress and other national stakeholders, and the National Asian Pacific American Bar Association (NAPABA) has provided legal guidance for the campaign. CAP should continue to consider the positions established by ARC and NAPABA, to prevent conflicting messaging or actions which may compromise the overall efforts.

What are the important national, state, or local laws establishing the policy or authorizing public funding? KAC-WA and AAW are both registered 501(c)(3) tax-exempt nonprofit organizations, organized and operated exclusively for charitable purposes, as defined by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS). This requires that none of the none of their earnings may benefit any private shareholder or individual, nor can they be act as “action organizations”, i.e. they may not attempt to influence legislation as a substantial part of its activities (“Exemption Requirements Section 501(c)(3) Organizations,” n.d.). The “substantial part test” is based on a variety of factors, including the time (by staff or volunteers) and expenditures dedicated to these activities (“Measuring Lobbying Substantial Part Test,” n.d.). An alternative method for measuring lobbying activity is the “expenditure test”. Under this guidance, organizations whose annual exempt expenditure is \$500,000 or less would need to stay at or below 20% of the expenditures dedicated to lobbying activities (“Measuring Lobbying Activity: Expenditure Test,” n.d.).

Citizenship for adoptees is determined by federal immigration laws, primarily the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 and its amendment from the Child Citizenship Act of 2000. Adoptees are subject to all federal immigration enforcement laws. Within the United States, adoption laws are set at the individual state level, however the United States is a signatory of the Hague Convention on the Protection of Children and Co-operation with Respect of Intercountry Adoption. The United States signed the Convention in 1994 and the Convention entered into force for the United States on April 1, 2008. The Convention requires a Central Authority to be the authoritative source of information and primary point of contact in that country; in the United States the Department of State is the U.S. Central Authority to the Convention (“Understanding the Hague Convention,” n.d.).

What government policy tools are in use? Currently the only government policy tools that support the efforts of CAP are grants available to Korean American and adoptee organizations through the Overseas Koreans Foundation and Korea Adoption Services. Ki-Dong-min, a Korean

lawmaker who serves on the Health and Welfare Committee stated, “A significant number of international adoptees ended up having no citizenship as South Korea in the past focused far too much on revoking their South Korean citizenship and not helping adoptees obtain citizenship in the country they were sent to. While adoptees are becoming international lost children and being deported, the government has failed to take an active role. Including the health ministry, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Justice, government authorities need to come up with appropriate measures immediately.” (Yim, 2017).

What other significant implementation resources are available? There are many existing, nonmonetary resources which can be leveraged to support CAP’s implementation activities. The table below provides a summary.

Table 2: Implementation Resources

Category	Resources
Professional convening among organizations or conferences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Korean American Grassroots Conference – leadership summit (January), regional conferences (Spring), national conference (July) • Korean American Coalition – presidents retreat (February), national convention (Summer) • Korean American Adoptee Adoptive Family Network – annual conference (June) • International Korean Adoptee Association – annual gathering (August) • National Council for Adoption – annual conference (June)
Evidence-based program descriptions and tools to enable replication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adoptee Rights Campaign Resources <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ State/City Resolution Template ○ Deportation Defense Toolkit ○ Sample Constituent Letter Template ○ Sample Constituent Phone Script • Coalition of Bar Associations of Color Adoptee Citizenship Resolution • Seattle City Council Adoptee Citizenship Resolution • Seattle Office of Immigrant and Refugee Affairs citizenship workshops • Know Your Rights Brochures from other non-profits <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ IDP: Know Your Rights with ICE ○ NAKASEC: Know Your Rights Brochure ○ WAISN: Know Your Rights Flyer ○ NWIRP: Know Your Rights Flyer ○ ACLU: Know Your Rights Flyer • U.S. Government Resource Documents <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ US Dept of State /Office of Children’s Issues “Intercountry Adoption from A to Z” ○ USCIS “I Am a U.S. Citizen... How do I help my adopted child immigrate to the United States or become a U.S. citizen?”

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ US Dept of State “Adoption FAQ’s” including “FAQ: Child Citizenship Act of 2000”
Communication tools such as branding, brochures, or websites	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizenship for Adoptees Project Summary Brief • Korean American Coalition WA newsletter, Facebook page, Instagram • Asian Adult Adoptees of WA newsletter, Facebook page
Policy research or evaluation reports	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adoptee Rights Campaign National Report • U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services data & statistics • U.S. Department of State data & statistics • Consulate General of the Republic of Korea statistics on overseas Koreans (immigrants and visitors) within the consular jurisdiction
Virtual information-sharing platforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ARC website, social media • NAKASEC website, social media • KAAN website, social media • Immigrant rights organizations’ websites (numerous) • InterCountry Adoptee Voices Facebook Group • Global Overseas Adoptees’ Link (GOA’L) website, social media • Adoptee and Adoptive Family Facebook Groups & Boards (numerous)

ORGANIZATION PROGRAM INTEGRATION AUDIT

An Organization Program Integration Audit looks at how a particular program is positioned within an existing organization (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015). The analysis in the table below is analyzing the Citizenship for Adoptees Project as a program and committee formed across two organizations, Korean American Coalition – Washington and Asian Adult Adoptees of Washington.

Table 3: Organization Program Integration Audit

Key Factors	KAC-WA	AAAW	Program (CAP)
Target Audiences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Korean American community across generations in WA state (primarily Puget Sound area) • Anyone who supports Korean Americans and/or KAC’s mission • Elected officials across federal, state, and local levels of government who represent WA • Business leaders and other influential figures in the community • Other Korean American, AAPI, and immigrant 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asian adult adoptees in WA state (primarily Puget Sound area) • Families of adoptees • Youth adoptees via AMP (mentorship program) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adoptees and adoptive families in WA state (primarily Puget Sound area) • Korean American, AAPI, immigrant, and other community members and allies • Korean American, AAPI, and other civic engagement and social justice organizations • Elected officials across federal, state, and local levels of government who represent WA

	community members and organizations		
Program Technology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Voter registration drives • Candidate forums and ballot parties • Professional networking events • Korean cultural events (often in partnership with other KA organizations) • Civic engagement leadership development with university students • Community leadership recognition (awards gala) • Volunteer/service events • Participation in Korean American community cross-organizational convenings • Community advocacy via KAGC day of action in DC • Community partner for state/city programs, ACRS programs • Communications channels (newsletter, social media, website) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adoptee social and networking events • Adoptee cultural events • Adoptee youth mentoring program • Speaker events on topics related to adoption • Adoptee dialogue series • Communications channels (newsletter, social media, website) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raise awareness on adoptee citizenship issue via awareness campaign, events, conferences • Create resources for adoptees and adoptive families on citizenship and “know your rights” • Connect adoptees to additional resources such as legal or mental health • Advocate for adoptees and adoptee citizenship rights with elected officials and/or other influential groups (i.e. adoptive parents, adoption agencies)
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Volunteer-led board of directors, advisory board • Board includes officers: President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer and general board members • Advisory Board includes Board Chair, Vice Chair, and Secretary • Committees are formed around 4 strategic pillars: Civic education & participation, community advocacy, professional networking, and leadership development • Membership includes Korean Americans / community members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Volunteer-led board of directors • Board includes officers: President, Vice President/Treasurer, Secretary and general board members • Advisory board • Mentorship program includes 1 chair and 2 co-chairs • Membership includes Asian American Pacific Islander adoptees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Volunteer committee formed between board, committee, and general members of KAC and AAAW • Program activities structured around desired outcomes and external relationships or dependencies
Financial Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Funding through donations, grants from Overseas Koreans Foundation, Seattle Foundation, King County Voter Education Fund, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Funding through donations, grants from Korea Adoption Services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Funding through donations/committee contributions • Not an incorporated entity

	other grants depending on programming		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Funding through KAC and AAAW (pass through from other grant sources such as OKF or KAS)
Culture and Power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Board has voting rights; all actions that require funding or resources must be presented for a vote, with motion passed by the board Board also approves all external messages, policy positions, press releases Korean culture which emphasizes respect (and grants authority) based on age, rank/title, experience Current board has 1 adoptee Values action and advocacy to elevate and empower the community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Board has voting rights; all actions that require funding or resources must be presented for a vote, with motion passed by the board Board also approves all external messaging Board is comprised entirely of adoptees Values creating a sense of community and belonging over political or divisive activities/topics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decisions made by consensus of the committee Need final approval from KAC and AAAW boards Emphasis on centering the voices and needs of adoptees and impacted adoptees without citizenship
Key External Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Elected Officials Korean American organizations (30+ in Puget Sound area) AAPI community organizations (ACRS, APCC, Wing Luke) National Korean American organizations (KAGC, KAC national, NAKASEC, etc) Consulate General of the Republic of Korea in Seattle Overseas Koreans Foundation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adoptee organizations (IKAA, KAAN, etc.) Consulate General of the Republic of Korea in Seattle Korea Adoption Services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adoptee Rights Campaign NAKASEC Consulate General of the Republic of Korea in Seattle Adoption Agencies Adoptive Parents & AP Organizations Elected Officials Previous Co-Sponsors and Supporters of Adoptee Citizenship legislation Pro-adoption advocacy groups (e.g. Congressional Coalition on Adoption Institute)

Target Audience: CAP is able to leverage the broad community reach of both KAC-WA and AAAW, while being part of AAAW provides access while ensuring relevance to the target audience of adoptees. It will also help serve as a bridge between adoptees and the broader Korean American community in Washington.

Program Technology: CAP can leverage some of the existing program technology through KAC-WA and AAAW, such as events, communication tools, and participation in conferences or other

cross-organizational convenings. However, the core program of CAP will require new content to then be socialized through KAC-WA and AAAW technologies. In addition, CAP will need to create its own communication channels.

Structure: The structure between KAC-WA and AAAW facilitates the delivery of the program activities by having representatives from each on the CAP program committee. This will allow for streamlined communication and approvals with the respective boards.

Financial Resources: Currently, CAP is reliant upon KAC-WA and AAAW for funding; any grants or donations that are underwritten to KAC-WA or AAAW must be accounted for in detail within each organization's operating budget. Any advocacy/lobbying activity and expenditure across CAP, KAC-WA, and AAAW must be closely monitored to ensure compliance with 501(c)(3) tax exemption requirements.

Culture and Power: The underlying values of CAP are more aligned with those of AAAW, specifically with the emphasis on centering the voices of adoptees and impacted adoptees without citizenship. However, it does push beyond AAAW's primary focus on community building and into the area of advocacy, which is more aligned to KAC-WA. It will be critical to ensure that any conflicting messaging, activities, or interests do not jeopardize the mission of CAP or create unnecessary harm to the adoptee community.

Key External Relationships: CAP can leverage the external relationships of KAC-WA and AAAW; CAP committee members have many existing relationships through their involvement in KAC-WA and AAAW. In order to deepen the engagement with these relationships, they should be divided amongst the committee. There are additional relationships needed in order to advance the mission of CAP, which may be less developed due to many adoptee-focused spaces being caucused without them – specifically, adoptive parent organizations, adoption agencies, and other adoption supporters.

FRONTLINE INTERACTIONS AUDIT

A frontline interactions audit examines “where the implementation system interacts with the target group of the policy or program” (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015, p. 271). Diversity across the target groups in relation to the program objectives, along with variation in social significance will impact the interaction structure.

Target Group: Interaction between CAP and the target group is voluntary and will range from passive (e.g. receiving information) to more active (e.g. attending an event). The target group is mixed, comprised of four major categories: “adoptees”, “adoptive parents”, “elected officials”, and “community members”. All three program objectives (advocacy, awareness, resources) can be applied across the four groups, but the focus of the interactions may vary slightly. For example, interactions with adoptees may have a higher emphasis on resources, while interactions with elected officials may have a higher emphasis on advocacy.

There is also diversity within each of the four categories. For example, within adoptees, there are adoptees with citizenship, adoptees who do not know their citizenship status, and adoptees who do not have citizenship. Adoptive parents include parents of adult adoptees, parents of child adoptees, and prospective adoptive parents. Across all four categories, there is a range of awareness of the citizenship issue.

Interaction Structure: Interactions will occur face to face through adoptee events, attendance and participation at conferences (KAC-WA, AAW, and CAP members), and through networking and dialogue at broader community events. Advocacy and awareness will occur through conferences, legislative action days, and one-on-one interactions with elected officials. Most of these will occur within the Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue metropolitan area, however some conferences will happen out of state and in Korea. The schedule and cadence should be examined and divided

amongst CAP committee members to ensure presence and provide opportunities for all to participate. Ideally, there will be 1-2 adoptee events in 2019, taking into consideration strategic times of the year. For example, May is Asian Pacific American Heritage Month and November is National Adoption Awareness Month.

Virtual interactions will also occur, through communication channels including social media, newsletters, emails, and the website – a content strategy and calendar should be developed to ensure balance between continuity of information and resources with attention and awareness driving campaigns. Some of these interactions will be one-way (e.g. push of information), while others will be interactive (e.g. email conversation). Advocacy activities may also include calls to action for the community to reach out to their elected officials, sign petitions, or share throughout their networks.

Social Significance. Adoption is an emotional topic, and amongst adoptees there is a range of experiences, beliefs, perspectives, and attitudes. The citizenship issue further highlights the issues around family permanency, abandonment, and belonging. Adoptees without citizenship have tried to maintain a balance between self-advocacy and accepting assistance from other groups but have stated that there is an inherently different viewpoint on the boundaries of solutions (such as proposed language in legislation, inclusions or exclusions) when citizenship is not at risk. However, many adult adoptees have taken on advocacy and activism roles within the adoptee and immigrant communities, and the interests and positions across the groups are not always been aligned. This has led to differences in the target-group expectations across different members- some adoptees want to remain specifically focused on solutions that address adoptees without citizenship while others expect more inclusivity by not separating adoptees from other immigrant groups (for example DACA) or seek to address broader issues with adoption policy. These expectations will have an impact on perceptions of program satisfaction.

This program seeks to have a significant impact on adoptees by increasing their awareness to ensure that all adoptees in Washington either confirm their citizenship status or have access to resources to help them confirm or obtain legal permanent resident or citizenship status. This will ensure adoptees have the equal rights and protections promised through their adoption, such as the right to vote, obtain a driver's license and passport, work, and receive retirement benefits. It will also reduce risk for deportation.

TARGET EXPERIENCES ANALYSIS

A target experiences analysis seeks to understand frontline interactions from the perspective of the target groups. It may inform how frontline workers should interact with the target group (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015). For CAP, the target group includes adoptees, adoptive parents, community members, and elected officials.

Adoptees: In their study “Reconstruction of Adoption Issues: Delineation of Five Phases Amongst Adult Adoptees”, the authors analyzed adoptee narratives and found five phases in which adult adoptees process and make sense of adoption issues: no awareness or denial of adoption issues (phase 1), emerging yet hesitant awareness of adoption issues (phase 2), awareness accompanied by anger, resentment and sadness (phase 3), attempting to bring acceptance and integration to adoption issues (phase 4), and finding peace (phase 5) (Penny, Borders, & Portnoy, 2007). These phases can be helpful to understand the diverse perspectives and experiences across the adoptee community discussed in the Frontline Interactions Audit. Being able to sense where others may be on this continuum will also be helpful when determining when and how to engage.

Adoptee artists, writers, and scholars have elevated adoptee narratives in Asian American Studies, Race and Ethnic Studies, Anthropology, and other social and behavioral science fields. They have created podcasts and blogs, written memoirs, poetry, and created documentaries, most of which

have brought to the surface the complexities and realities of adoption. Adoptees have also created organizations to serve adoptee communities, many of which date back to the mid-1990's in cities spanning New York, Minneapolis, Seattle, and San Francisco. The reach and impact of these organizations have been amplified by the internet and social media, creating virtual adoptee networks and resources (Choy, 2013).

These networks have also brought together politicized adoptees and organizations who have been critical about the adoption system, including the global inequalities and “sociopolitical blindspots” the industry reinforces. This has led to some Korean adoptees to return to Korea, calling on the Korean government to end its practices of intercountry adoption (E. J. Kim, 2010; Yang, 2009).

In *Invisible Asians: Korean American Adoptees, Asian American Experiences, and Racial Exceptionalism* (Park Nelson, 2016) the author's research found that many Korean adoptees do not identify as immigrants, and actually denied any similarities between themselves and other Asian immigrant groups. The participants in the study were adopted prior to the Child Citizenship Act, and despite going through the naturalization process and ceremony, most did not mention it nor consider it important while sharing their adoption experience. As the adopted children of usually white middle class parents who are not traditionally marginalized, they do not share the same naturalization experiences as other immigrants.

Adoptees without confirmed citizenship: Due to inconsistent government records and missing statistics on adoptee's citizenship status, it is difficult to know the exact number of impacted adoptees without citizenship (Martin-Montgomery et al., 2018). However, ARC has documented cases of adoptees without citizenship from 27 different sending countries, spanning Asia Pacific, Africa, Europe, and Latin America (*The Crisis of Adoptee Citizenship*, n.d.). In 2012, there were an estimated 41 cases of adoptees who, lacking U.S. citizenship, had been deported to their countries of birth (Choy, 2013).

Impacted adoptees have come forward to share their stories, and to advocate for their citizenship rights. One common theme is the surprise and shock that adoptees felt when discovering they were not U.S. citizens. In most cases, adoptees had lived their whole lives never questioning they were citizens, because they were adopted by U.S. citizens. For some, it wasn't until they applied for a U.S. passport and got denied. For others, they even served in the U.S. military, and found out after their service that they were not citizens (Myung Ja et al., 2015). In many of the cases, they were placed in adoptive homes only to endure abuse or additional instability due to divorce.

Adoptees who entered the United States on immigrant visas for the purpose of adoption have legal permanent residence, however some were issued non-immigrant visas (such as visitor or humanitarian parole) and are now undocumented. Some did not receive their adoption files from their adoptive parents, and in some cases the U.S. government has no record of their adoption or entry to the United States (A. Kim, 2018). Many have lived in the shadows, even advised by their attorneys to not apply for a green card or citizenship, to avoid triggering attention from Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). Their status affects whether or not they can work, drive, travel, obtain federal benefits such as student loans or social security. The fear of deportation also causes stress, anxiety, and other mental health issues. As adults, some are now married and have children of their own, and the threat of their families being separated also weighs heavily on them (Long, 2017).

Adoptive parents: Adoptive parents were not all informed or fully understood that the naturalization process was a distinct, separate process from the adoption process until 2001. Some adoptees have shared in memoirs or interviews that their parents were abusive, withholding citizenship as a form of abuse (Myung Ja et al., 2015). Following the passage of the Child Citizenship Act, some parents believed their children were now automatically granted citizenship but did not realize that they needed to complete the re-adoption process in the United States due to the type of visa their child entered the United States on. Other adoptive parents have adult children who are in deportation

proceedings or have been deported to their birth countries, and are actively fighting for this issue to be resolved (“Immigration nightmare: Kansas couple fights to halt deportation of child,” 2018; Medina, 2018).

Some parents were well informed and completed the process without any issues and cannot understand why other parents did not do so. One adoptive parent provides a theory on why some parents failed to secure citizenship for their children. “Having to think of one’s child as a foreign citizen may have produced such cognitive dissonance that these parents couldn’t conceive of the need. Prior to the multicultural 1990’s, American parents were encouraged to overlook differences between themselves and their adopted children.” (Homans, 2017).

Community members: The adoptee citizenship issue has received more attention amongst the Korean American community, through presentations and panel discussions at community meetings, conferences, and increased partnership between adoptee and Korean American nonprofit organizations. An overview of the issue was presented during the KAC-WA kick off meeting in March 2018, and many attendees were surprised and saddened. A similar response was evident at the Korean Women’s International Network (KOWIN) conference in Los Angeles in June 2018, where a panel including ARC, NAPABA, lawmakers, and adoption agency representatives discussed the issue.

When discussed in two Humphrey School of Public Affairs courses (PA 5052 Cohort Leadership II - Spring 2018, PA 5451 Immigration and Health Policy - Fall 2018), other students indicated they were not aware of the issue, also surprised to find out that citizenship was not granted automatically through the adoption process. A similar lack of awareness was also evident during numerous conversations at networking and community events amongst Asian American and Pacific Islander and immigrant community and social justice organizations, which was even more surprising. People have often asked for more information, and some have offered to help in any way that they can.

Elected officials: In the early years of intercountry adoption, U.S. lawmakers ceded to pressure from prospective adoptive parents when it came to creating, amending, or extending legislation that would permit intercountry adoption. One example was “A Bill for Relief of Certain Korean War Orphans”, introduced by Senator Richard Neuberger (D-OR) in 1955 and passed in less than 2 months, in response to lobbying by Harry Holt (R. R. Winslow, 2017).

The Congressional Coalition on Adoption was founded 25 years ago, and most recently included 160 members (75 Democrats, 84 Republicans, and 1 Independent) representing 46 states during the 115th Congress. Their stated objective is “to support legislation and policy that improves the lives of children and families in the United States and around the world. The CCA is deeply committed to bipartisanship and brings together Democrats and Republicans with the shared goal of ensuring all children know the love and support of a family.” (“CCA Members,” n.d.). They led the passage of the following legislation: The Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997, the John Chafee Foster Care Independence Act, the Promoting Safe and Stable Families Act, the Hope for Children Act, and the Intercountry Adoption Act.

There have also been stories of lawmakers who were adopted or are adoptive parents themselves. A 2016 article on the conservative website The Daily Signal highlighted “4 Pro-Life Lawmakers who Chose to Adopt” (Wegmann, 2016). Representative Adam Smith (D-WA) was one of the co-sponsors of the Adoptee Citizenship Act of 2018 and shared he was adopted during a Candidate’s Forum in October 2018. Some lawmakers have been longtime proponents of adoption and intercountry adoption, including Senator Amy Klobuchar (D-MN). This is evidenced by her sponsorship and co-sponsorship of adoption legislation, including the International Adoption Simplification Act, Supporting Adoptive Families Act, and the Adoptee Citizenship Act of 2015, as well as the offer for support to adoptive parents navigating the intercountry adoption and immigration systems (Klobuchar, n.d.).

What is common across the literature, current legislation language, and the Congressional Coalition on Adoption's website is the pro-family, pro-child framing of adoption, usually in the interest of adoptive parents and adoption agencies. However, it is not always clear if the messages are inclusive of intercountry adoption in addition to domestic adoption and foster care. Also notable is the absence of conversation around adoptees who are now adults, with the exception of the press releases following the introduction and co-sponsorship of the Adoptee Citizenship Act (2015/2016, 2018).

PART 3: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION

The following recommendations are intended to help guide the CAP team through the implementation of the core programs in 2019. The adoptee citizenship issue presents technical and adaptive challenges. “Technical challenges are those for which cause and effect can be described, solutions are known, and tactics for adoption can be shared and replicated from setting to setting. Adaptive challenges are those that are more ambiguous and involve values and power, beliefs and authority.” (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015, p. 283). Leading implementation will require a thoughtful and purposive approach.

INDICATORS OF IMPLEMENTATION EFFECTIVENESS

In defining the desired results or signs of effectiveness, it will be important for CAP to think through the systems operations of the program, as well as change in the groups targeted by the program. “Since much of implementation activities focus on improving quality, it is also important to articulate both quality results and ultimate policy outcomes.” (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015, p. 279)

Change in systems operations: Quality results include increased CAP team presence at conferences and community events, more engagements with elected officials and other stakeholders with power and influence, and the launch and sustainment of awareness campaign and adoptee resource materials. The ultimate outcome is the integration of CAP and the adoptee citizenship issue throughout the community.

Change in target groups: Quality results include increased awareness amongst non-adoptee stakeholders and interest groups, elected officials taking action such as introducing or co-sponsoring legislation or resolutions, more adoptees checking and confirming their citizenship status, and adoptees without citizenship receiving direct services and resources. The near-term outcomes are fewer adoptees with unconfirmed citizenship, more adoptees receiving rights and protections granted

by the highest level of status possible (e.g. employment via legal permanent residence status), and fewer adoptees at risk for deportation. The long-term and final outcome (and goal) is retroactive and automatic citizenship granted to all intercountry adoptees.

ACTIVATING AUTHORITY AND USING CULTURE

Interactions are a critical aspect of implementation, and having an understanding of the social structure, shared beliefs and values, and new or existing resources are “significant in shaping what is considered legitimate.” (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015, p. 255). Two tools which can help CAP have more impact throughout implementation are framing and purposively engaging others.

Framing: “Framing is how people encourage others to understand things... Many social science disciplines point to the significance of framing in shaping others’ understanding and mobilizing them into action.” (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015, p. 256). The history of ICA, along with the implementation analysis all indicate the need for careful and deliberate framing of the adoptee citizenship issue. First, taking into consideration the authority and power held by the U.S. government along with the strong positions of adoptive parents and adoption agencies, framing the issue as a family issue rather than an immigration issue will be more politically feasible. When Representative Adam Smith (D-WA) introduced the Adoptee Citizenship Act of 2015, he hoped that it would pass without a lot of controversy, calling it “a small niche issue [that] doesn’t fit into the larger argument about immigration.” (Homans, 2017).

Taking language from the Congressional Coalition on Adoption Institute, such as “children’s basic right to a family” and from the National Council for Adoption such as “every child deserves to thrive in a nurturing, permanent family” can be useful when advocating to elected officials. One adoptive mother stated, “We adoptive parents must never cast doubt on the permanence of our

relationships to our children. And we must fight to preserve our children's sense of belonging when others question it." (Homans, 2017).

This framing does have the potential to reinforce themes and narratives the adoptee community at large has been fighting, such as the "forever child" narrative - the lack of acknowledgment that adopted children grow up to become adults, who seek to reclaim a sense of agency. It runs counter to many of the conversations within the adoptee community about adoptee rights, "flipping the script" and acknowledging that adoption begins with loss, and the need to center adoptee voices over adoptive parents or agencies. However, in going back to the desired goals and outcome of all intercountry adoptees having automatic and retroactive citizenship, there will need to be trade offs. If lack of citizenship creates more risk and potential harm to adoptees compared with the reinforcement of negative narratives or stereotypes, should the means justify the end? As one adoptee stated, "This is where the rubber hits the road – adoptees are getting deported." Once citizenship is secured for all adoptees, can the community go back and address some of the macro issues with adoption?

Similarly, by framing the adoptee citizenship issue as a family issue and not an immigration issue, it continues to reinforce adoptees as "good immigrants" or "deserving immigrants" on the immigration hierarchy. While there is inherent inequity in adoptees asserting their right to citizenship, solving the adoptee citizenship issue won't be able to fix the broader immigration system. From a human rights perspective, some adoptees feel that their rights were violated through the erasure of their pre-adoption existence and the "forced migration" via adoption. "The very production of the adoptee as a legal orphan, which severs the adoptee from any kinship ties and makes her an exceptional state subject, renders her the barest of social identities and strips her of her social personhood." (J. Kim, 2009). One adoptee made a similar statement, that the denial of adoptees' citizenship is "the violation of a core social contract."

He also compared adoptee citizenship and immigration reform to alternative energy and climate change – and that “perfect cannot be the enemy of the good.” Rather, adoptees can advocate for adoptee citizenship as a specific issue while acknowledging the connection to broader immigration issues, and can stand in solidarity with other immigrant communities. However, fixing the adoptee citizenship issue could be “a small step toward extending justice to millions of other immigrants who live and work here.” (Homans, 2017).

Purposively Engaging Others: As CAP engages with others in the policy field, taking a thoughtful approach and tailoring the engagement activities and delivery methods will also be critical for responding to adaptive challenges and influencing change. Utilizing different communication styles and facilitation techniques can also help identify knowledge and resources, bridge differences, and help lead through adaptive challenges (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015).

Throughout the implementation process, CAP may want to host focus groups or interviews with the target groups to assess the effectiveness of implementation, or to further understand their needs, beliefs, and values. As the team engages and collaborates with others across the policy field, continuously examining and cultivating the relationships will be very important. After aligning on framing and positioning, the use of effective storytelling techniques that are tailored to each audience will also help motivate and inspire. Some examples and tools to consider include TED Talks, Simon Sinek’s *Start With Why*, Duarte, This I Believe, and Pixar in a Box.

2019 IMPLEMENTATION PLAN

Incorporating the findings from the implementation analysis, 2019 implementation should focus on the following three core program technologies:

Advocate for adoptee citizenship rights: The objective is to increase engagement with key stakeholders with the desired outcome of elected officials taking action (e.g. passing a state resolution,

sponsoring or co-sponsoring legislation). Activities and tactics the CAP team should consider include: attending legislative action days, presenting or attending conferences and convenings, partnering with adoptive parents and/or adoption agencies, and networking with ally organizations.

Increase awareness of the adoptee citizenship issue: The objective is to increase integration in the community with the desired outcome of more awareness, allies, and advocates of the citizenship issue. Activities and tactics the CAP team should consider include: creating brand assets, developing a content strategy and publishing content across channels, creating a CAP website and social media accounts, presenting at or attending conferences, and networking with ally organizations.

Provide support and resources for adoptees: The objective is to increase knowledge amongst adoptees with the desired outcome of more adoptees exercising their maximum rights. Activities and tactics the CAP team should consider include: Curating or creating “know your rights” materials, leveraging or creating an adoptee citizenship status checklist or infographic, curating a list of local legal resources, hosting adoptee events with onsite adoption and legal resources, referring intake cases to ARC, and networking with ally organizations.

CONCLUSION

Nearly 18 years have passed since the enactment of the Child Citizenship Act of 2000, yet the U.S. government does not yet guarantee the ability of ALL intercountry adoptees to obtain U.S. citizenship, the adoptee's right to remain in the country in which he or she was brought legally as a minor, or access the same legal rights, privileges, and protections as the children born to or adopted domestically by their U.S. citizen parents.

As demonstrated through the history of intercountry adoption and the implementation analysis across strategic action fields, solving this issue is complex due to the systems involved as well as the underlying political, social, and cultural elements at play. In Washington State, the Citizenship for Adoptees Project was launched in the summer of 2018 through the support of the Korean American Coalition of Washington and the Asian Adult Adoptees of Washington. Their combined advocacy as well as the collective efforts across the community will be critical for driving the change needed to protect the rights of intercountry adoptees.

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FOOTNOTES

¹ Observations occurred at the following: CAP committee meetings (June 2018-November 2018), Korean American Grassroots Conference regional and national conferences (May 2018, July 2018), Korean Women's International Network Los Angeles conference (June 2018), Asian Adult Adoptees of WA (AAAW) social events and one on-one-conversations with other AAW members (April 2018-December 2018), AAPI Legislative Candidates' Forum (October 2018), Adoptee Rights Campaign national leadership summit (November 2018). In addition, I discussed adoptee citizenship at networking events and during one-on-one conversations with adoptees, community members and leaders from Asian Counseling and Referral Service, Northwest Immigrant Rights Project, Korean American Coalition WA, Adoptee Rights Campaign, Korean American Bar Association, National Asian Pacific American Bar Association, and the Consulate General of the Republic of Korea in Seattle (June 2018 through December 2018).

FIGURES

Figure 1: Policy Field Map

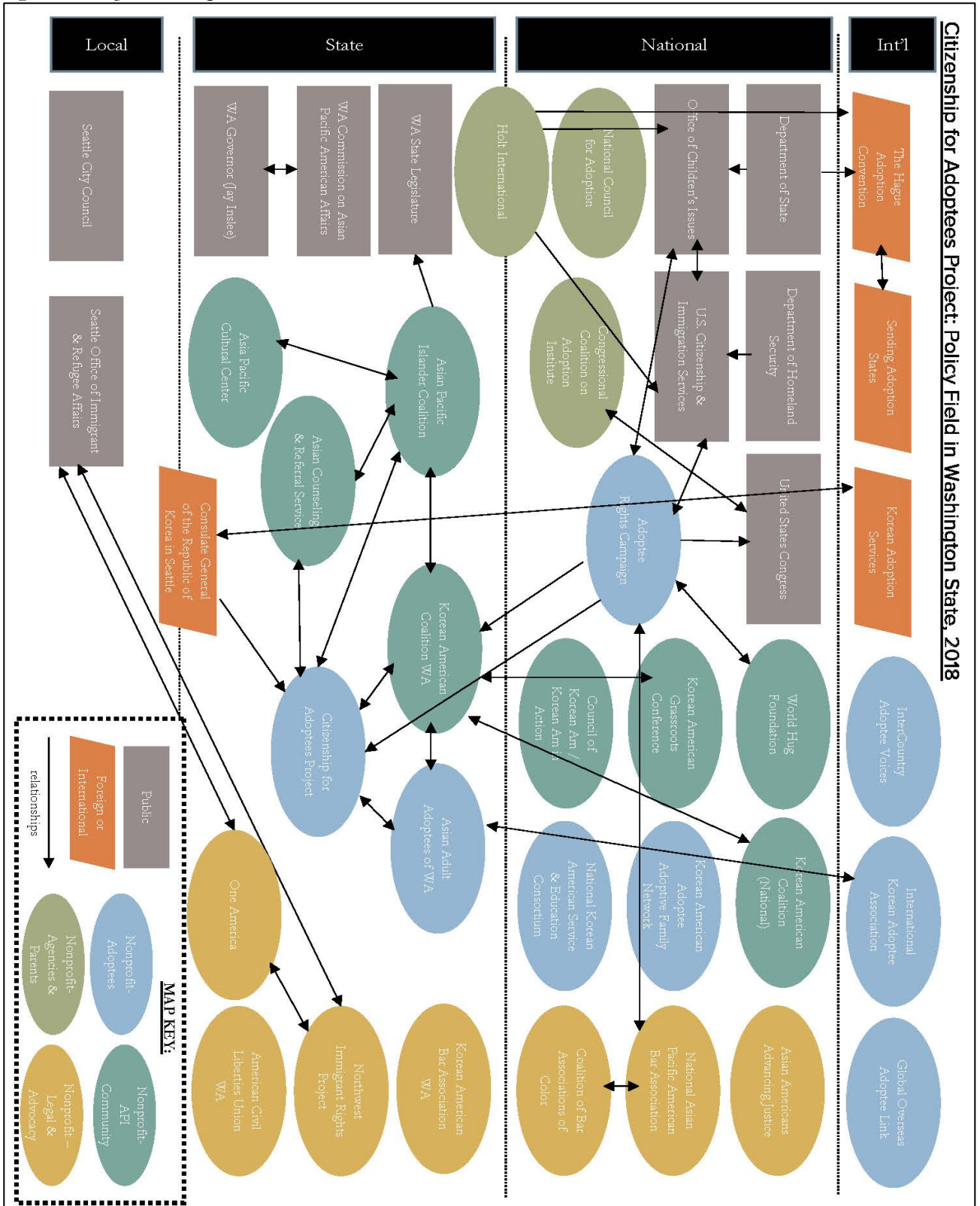
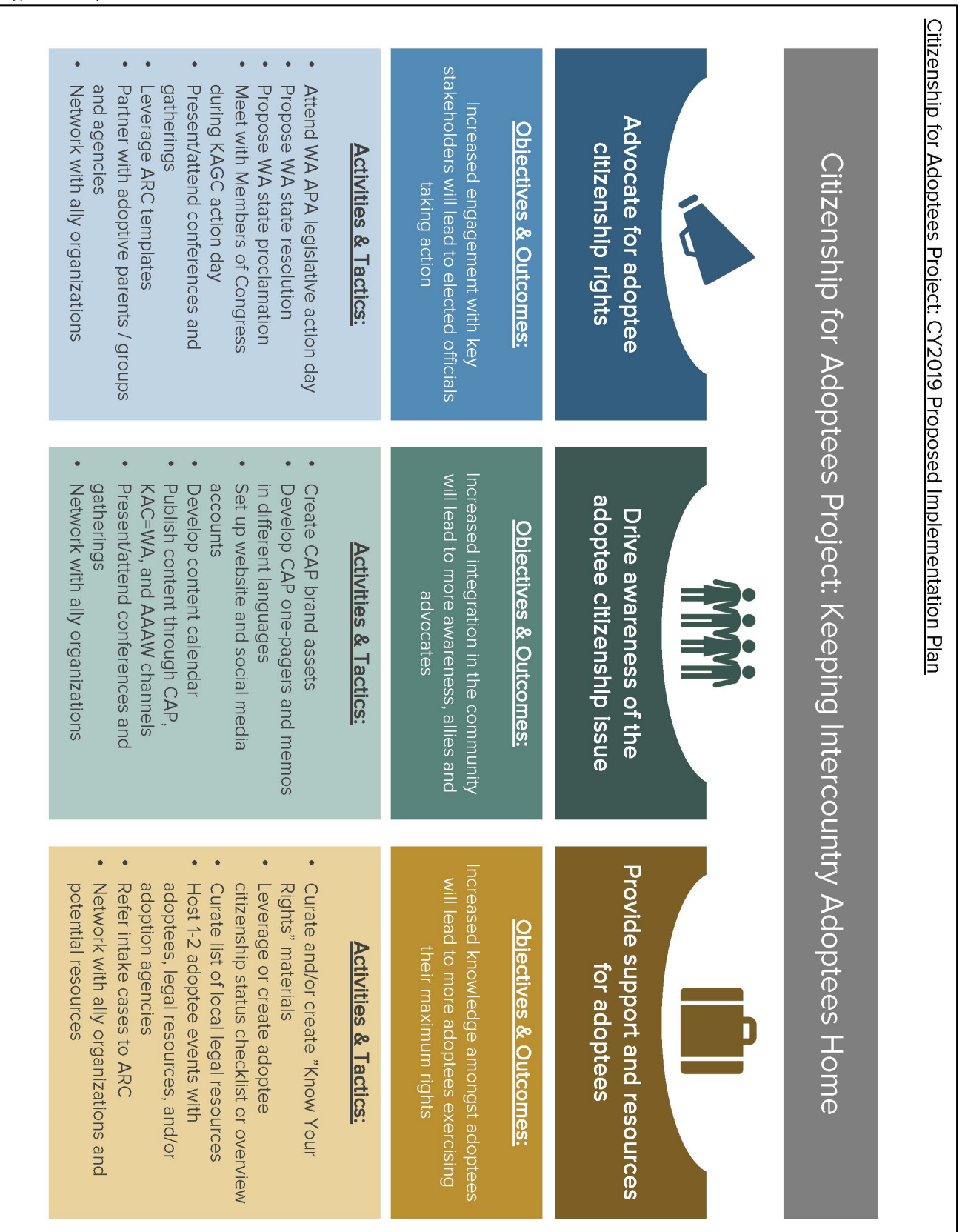


Figure 2: Implementation Plan



Citizenship for Adoptees Project: CY2019 Proposed Calendar

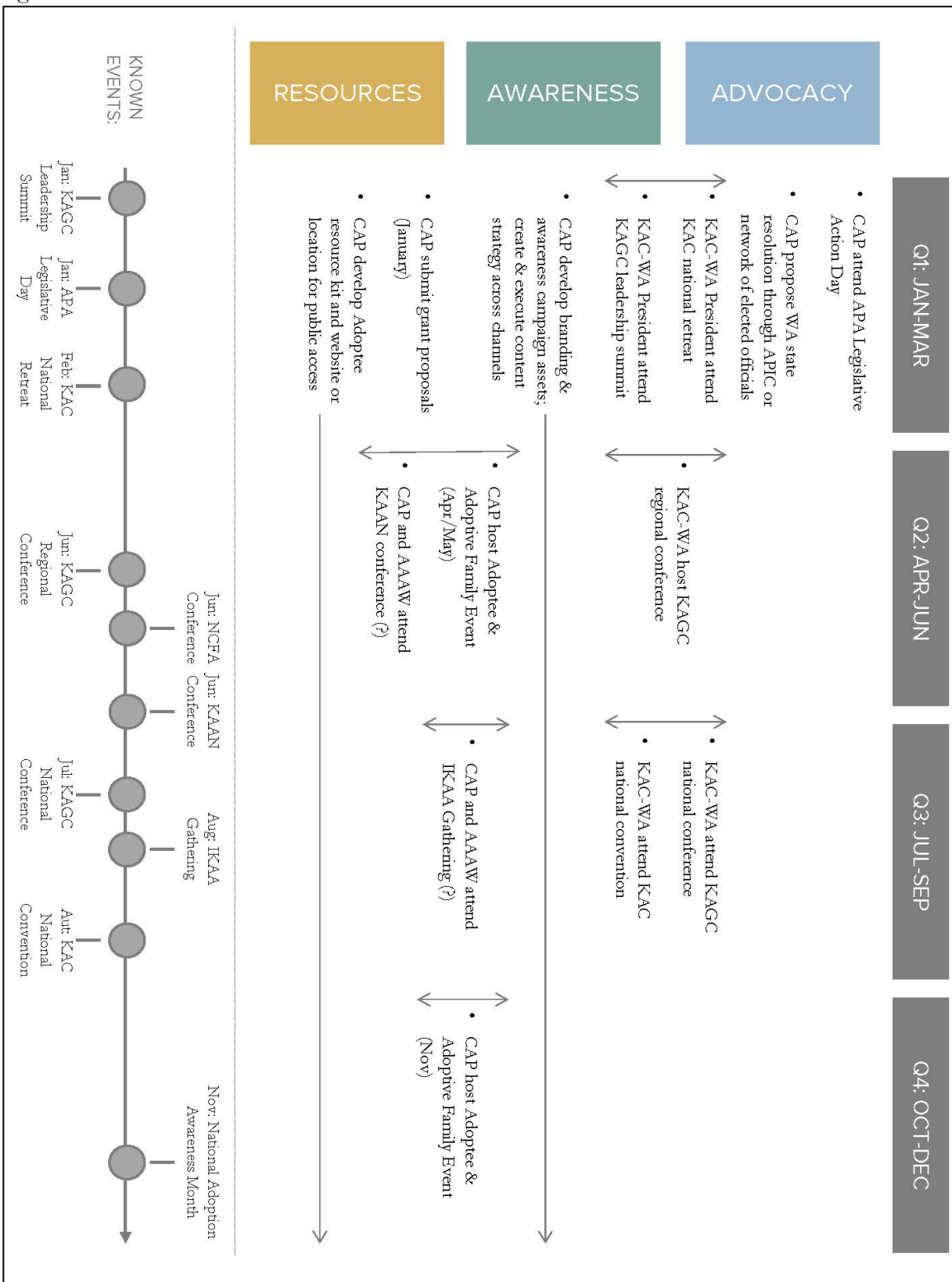


Figure 3: 2019 Calendar Plan

Figure 4: CAP One-Page Issue Summary

